

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O 141742Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8797

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 2949

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GR, TU, CY, MASS

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER ON GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS AND
U.S. - TURKISH RELATIONS

REF: (A) STATE 084080; (B) STATE 084137

1. I MET WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL THIS MORNING (APRIL 14) TO DELIVER YOUR LATEST MESSAGE (REF A AS AMENDED BY REF B). AFTER EXCHANGE OF PLEASANTRIES IN WHICH I EXTENDED YOUR CONGRATULATIONS ON THE SATURDAY VOTE OF CONFIDENCE AND YOUR GOOD WISHES FOR HIS ACTIVITIES IN THE DAYS AHEAD, I CONVEYED YOUR MESSAGE, WHICH THE FONMIN WENT OVER VERY CAREFULLY. CAGLAYANGIL ASKED ME TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION TO YOU FOR THIS MESSAGE. WITH RESPECT TO HARTMAN VISIT HE REITERATED THAT HARTMAN WOULD BE WELCOME AND, AFTER REVIEWING HIS OTHER ENGAGEMENTS, HE CONCLUDED THAT MONDAY, APRIL 21, WOULD BE THE MOST CONVENIENT DATE.

2. USING HIS POOR UNDERSTANDING OF ENGLISH AS AN EXCUSE, CAGLAYANGIL THEN PROBED WHAT EXACTLY WAS MEANT BY "WOULD TAKE A MOST SERIOUS VIEW" (PARA 2, REF A). DID THAT MEAN, HE INQUIRED, INTERVENTION? I SAID THAT IT MEANT EXACTLY WHAT IT SAID, AND THE PRECISE WORDS WERE INTERPRETED FOR HIM IN

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TURKISH. I ADDED THAT IT WAS AN EXPRESSION OF DEEP CONCERN

WHICH WAS NOT DESIGNED TO ENCOMPASS OR SUGGEST ANY SPECIFIC LINE OF U.S. ACTION.

3. THEN, TURNING TO THE MAIN THRUSTS OF YOUR MESSAGE, CAGLAYANGIL AS A RESPONSE ASKED ME TO SAY THE FOLLOWING TO YOU.

4. HIS EARLIER TALK WITH ME WAS, AS YOU SURMISED, DESIGNED TO BE ENCOURAGING. HE ALSO SAID YOUR ASSESSMENT THAT THE GOT HAS NO OBJECTION TO HIGH LEVEL TALKS IS CORRENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, CAGLAYANGIL REPORTED THAT THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS WAS TOLD BY GREEK MFA UNDER SECRETARY COSTAS STAVROPOULOS ON APRIL 5 THAT HE (STAVROPOULOS) WAS GOING TO GENEVA TO THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE AND THIS WOULD BE OCCASION FOR TALKS IF A GOT REPRESENTATIVE WERE SENT THERE. CAGLAYANGIL SAID HE WELCOMED THIS DEVELOPMENT AND INSTRUCTED THE GOT PERMREP IN GENEVA TO GET IN TOUCH WITH STAROPOULOS AS SOON AS HE ARRIVED TO SAY THAT TURKEY WAS READY TO NEGOTIATE AND TO INQUIRE ABOUT AGENDA. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE GOT AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS ASKED TO SEE CARAMANLIS TO EXPLORE FURTHER THE NATURE OF THE TALKS. IT WAS EXPLAINED THAT GOT, IN ORDER TO DECIDE WHO SHOULD REPRESENT IT, NEEDED TO KNOW WHETHER THESE WERE TO BE PREPARATORY TALKS TO SET GROUNDWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS OR TO BE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES. CARAMANLIS WAS NOT AVAILABLE BUT SUGGESTED INSTEAD A MEETING WITH HIS "CHEF DE CABINET" MOLYVIATIS. UNFORTUNATELY, MOLYVIATIS' REMARKS WERE DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO WHAT STAVROPOULOS HAD SAID.

5. AT THIS POINT, CAGLAYANGIL ASKED DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS TEZEL TO RELATE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. SUMMARIZING REPORTS RECEIVED FROM THE GOT AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS, TEZEL SAID MOLYVIATIS SEEMED TO BE VERY SURPRISED BY TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S ACCOUNT OF STAVROPOULOS' REMARKS AND SAID THERE WAS A MISUNDERSTANDING. WHEN THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR SAID STAVROPOULOS' WORDS WERE VERY CLEAR, MOLYVIATIS INDICATED THE MISUNDERSTANDING WAS ON STAVROPOULOS' PART. MOLYVIATIS THEN STATED THAT STAVROPOULOS DOES NOT KNOW THE SUBJECTS HE PROPOSED TALKING ABOUT. WHEN GOT AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT SOMEONE BE SENT TO ASSIST STAVROPOULOS, MOLYVIATIS SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK THAT PREPARATORY TALKS WERE NEEDED. MOLYVIATIS

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ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WAS HIS PERSONAL VIEW AND THAT HE WOULD CONSULT CARMANLIS TO FIND OUT WHETHER TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO REPRESENTATIVES WERE POSSIBLE. IF THEY WERE, THE GOG WOULD PROBABLY SEND JOHN TZOUNIS, WHO KNOWS THE SUUJECT WELL. MOLYVIATIS SAID HE PROMISED THAT, WHEN THE GOG HAD RECEIVED A REPORT OF CAGLAYANGIL'S MEETING WITH THEIR AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA (THIS WAS ON APRIL 9), THE GOG WOULD CONTACT THE GOT FURTHER ON THIS SUBJECT. SUBSEQUENTLY UPON

RECEIVING THE REPORT OF THE APRIL 9 MEETING IN ANKAR,
MOLYVIATIS NOTED TO THE TURK AMBASSADOR THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD
EXPRESSED VIEW THAT GENEVA MEETING WOULD BE USEFUL. HE THEN
SAID THAT THE TURKS WOULD BE TOLD GREEK ATTITUDE IN "ONE OR TWO DAYS."
"

6. CAGLAYANGIL NEXT NOTED THAT FIVE DAYS HAVE ELAPSED
AND THERE HAS BEEN NO OFFICIAL RESPONSE FROM GREEKS.
HE ADDED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE ENTIRELY CORRECT TO SAY THERE HAS
BEEN NO RESPONSE SINCE ONE HAS BEEN RECEIVED THROUGH PARIS DAILY
LE MONDE. CAGLAYANGIL SUMMARIZED CARAMANLIS' INTERVIEW PUBLISHED
IN APRIL 13 LE MONDE AS STATING THAT SUPERPOWERS COULD NOT
EFFECTIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, THAT IT IS
NOW UP TO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AND THAT THEY SHOULD UNDERTAKE AN
EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. POINTING OUT THAT CARAMANLIS' MESSAGE
IN LE MONDE COULD BE INTERPRETED IN DIFFERENT WAYS, CAGLAYANGIL
SAID THAT CONGRESS HAS APPARENTLY SET A BAD EXAMPLE AND THAT
CARAMANLIS HAS OPTED FOR PUTTING PRESSURE ON TURKEY AND
ISOLATING IT. ON THE OTHER HAND, CARAMANLIS MAY HAVE WISHED
TO HAMPER THE CONTINUING EFFORTS ON THE PART OF THE U.S.
ADMINISTRATION TO LIFT THE CONGRESSIONAL RESTRICTIONS. (BEFORE
I ENTERED CAGLAYANGIL'S OFFICE, DIRECTOR OF CYPRUS AND GREEK
AFFAIRS BARUTCU TOLD ME THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICERS
INTERPRETED THE CARAMANLIS INTERVIEW AS A DIRECT MESSAGE TO
MEMBERS OF THE U.S. SENATE THAT THEY SHOULD VOTE AGAINST THE
SCOTT-MANSFIELD BILL.)

7. THE GREEKS. CAGLAYANGIL CONTINUED, HAVE MISSED A KEY POINT.
EVERY PRESSURE CREATES A PROPORTIONATE REACTION WHICH IN TURN
CAN LEAD TO DIPLOMATIC ESCALATION AND AN UNDESIRE COURSE OF
EVENTS. IF SUCH AN EXCALATION TAKES PLACE, CAGLAYANGIL EMPHASIZED,
GOT WOULD NOT BE RESPONSIBLE. UP TO NOW THE GOT HAS NOT
ACTIVELY REACTED TO THE CONGRESSIONAL DECISION BUT THIS SHOULD
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NOT BE CONSIDERED AS RESIGNATION ON PART OF GOT.
THE TURKS HAVE BEEN RUNNING AFFAIRS OF STATE FOR CENTURIES, AND
ONE OF THEIR ANCESTRAL CHARACTERISTICS IS PATIENCE. THIS
PATIENCE, CAGLAYANGIL STRESSED, CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO LEAD
OTHER PARTIES TO ERRONEOUS CONCLUSIONS. TURKEY
HAS BEEN WAITING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT
READY AND ABLE TO SHOULDER THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR A VERY MAJOR AND
IMPORTANT POLITICAL DECISION. NOW THE TIME HAS COME. A NEW

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O 141742Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8798

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 2949

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

GOVERNMENT BASED ON A PARLIAMENT MAJORITY HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. A DEMIREL-LED GOVERNMENT IS NO STRANGER TO THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE U.S. PUBLIC, CAGLAYANGIL CONTINUED. THE IMPORTANCE SUCH A GOVERNMENT ATTACHES TO U.S. RELATIONS WAS CLEARLY EVIDENT DURING THE FIVE AND ONE-HALF YEARS IT WAS LAST IN POWER. TURKS ARE AWARE THAT A COUNTRY'S PRIDE GENERALLY INCREASES AS ITS SIZE DECREASES, AND TURKEY HAS THREATENED NEITHER GREECE NOR CYPRUS. THE U.S. IS A MAJOR POWER, CAGLAYANGIL CONTINUED, AND THE GOT IS AT EASE IN ITS DIALOGUE WITH U.S. TURKEY CANNOT, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO MEET WITH PATIENCE AN ATTITUDE WHICH WOULD LEAVE TURKEY WITHOUT ARMS AND ITS ARMED FORCES WITHOUT THE EQUIPMENT ESSENTIAL TO NORMAL ARMY ACTIVITIES. TURKEY CANNOT DISPLAY RESIGNATION AND PATIENCE WHICH WOULD LEAVE ITS HANDS TIED VIS-A-VIS SURPRISES, FOREIGN MINISTER EMPHASIZED.

8. CAGLAYANGIL NEXT EXPRESSED CERTAINTY THAT, WITH YOUR VAST EXPERIENCE, YOU UNDERSTAND THE CIRCUMSTANCES TURKEY IS NOW IN. A UNILATERAL ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN AGAINST TURKEY, AND THIS HAS BROUGHT THE GOT TO A POSITION OF HAVING TO TAKE A UNILATERAL ACTION. IN CASE THE LIMITED DAYS AHEAD BRING NO SOLUTION TO THIS DARK AND GLOOMY PICTURE. TURKEY MUST INEVITABLY RESORT TO MEASURES IT DEEMS APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY.

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9. CAGLAYANGIL THEN CONCLUDED HIS MESSAGE TO YOU SAYING THAT

HE WAS CONCERNED THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN A NEW AND DANGEROUS TACK BY TYING THE AEGEAN QUESTION WITH THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THIS ATTITUDE WOULD BRING NO RPT NO SOLUTION TO EITHER PROBLEM. ON THE CONTRARY, IT WILL CAUSE A DETERIORATION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION.

10. I SAID I WOULD REPORT THE FOREGOING AT ONCE. CAGLAYANGIL EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AND ADDED THAT HE WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE DUAL POSITION WHICH THE GREEK SEEMED TO BE ADOPTING; I.E., TELLING US AND OTHERS THAT THEY WANT TO BE CONCILIATORY AND FIND A SOLUTION WHILE AT THE SAME TIME SPEAKING PUBLICLY IN A WAY WHICH WOULD SUGGEST THEIR TRUE ATTITUDE WAS ONE OF INTRANSIGENCE RATHER THAN RECONCILIATION. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT MAY BE USING A SPLIT WITHIN ITS RANKS ON THIS SUBJECT TO ITS OWN ADVANTAGE. HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT THE GREEKS WERE PLAYING A CALCULATED DOUBLE GAME. I SAID THAT BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY HAVE DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION PROBLEMS WHICH OBVIOUSLY AFFECT THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS. I EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, OUR VIEW THAT, WHATEVER IS BEING SAID IN PUBLIC, WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE GOG WANTS AN EARLY SOLUTION TO KEY GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEMS.

11. COMMENT: WHAT WE NOW HAVE IN TURKEY IS A VERY WEAK GOVERNMENT BUT ONE WHOSE PRIMIN AND FONMIN ARE RATIONAL AND EXPERIENCED PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE TO MOVE TO DEFUSE THE GREEK-TURKISH SITUATION. THUS, DESPITE THEIR PARLIAMENTARY AND COALITION WEAKNESSES, THEY REPRESENT A DISTINCT PLUS IN THIS REGARD. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS NEARLY UNIVERSAL CONCERN IN ALL POLITICAL QUARTERS HERE THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD AND SPECIFICALLY THE GREEKS AND THE U.S. CONGRESS ARE GETTING THE IMPRESSION THAT (A) SIGNS OF TURKISH WILLINGNESS TO SEEK A SOLUTION ON CYPRUS (WHICH THEY MAINTAIN IS SIMPLY A CONTINUATION OF THEIR ATTITUDE FROM BEGINNING) AND (B) THEIR LACK OF CONCRETE REACTION TO THE MILITARY AID CUTOFF ARE BEING INTERPRETED AS INDICATIONS THAT THEY ARE BEGINNING TO BE SOFTENED UP BY PRESSURE TACTICS. WHAT CAGLAYANGIL IS OBVIOUSLY CONVEYING TO US IS THAT TURKEY'S DELAY IN RETALIATING IS REACHING ITS LIMITS AND THAT, IF THERE IS NOT FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE CONGRESS "WITHIN LIMITED DAYS" WITH REGARD TO REVERSING THE CUTOFF, TURKEY WILL HAVE TO TAKE "UNILATERAL ACTION" TO
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CORRECT THIS FALSE IMPRESSION. MY PRESENT GUESS IS THAT IMPORTANT DECISIONS IN THIS REGARD WILL BE MADE IN THE WAKE OF THE HARTMAN VISIT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, NEGOTIATIONS, AEGEAN
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ANKARA02949
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750130-0001
From: ANKARA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750454/aaaabxuy.tel
Line Count: 273
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 75 STATE 084080, 75 STATE 084137
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <08 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FOREIGN MINISTER ON GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS AND U.S. - TURKISH RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, MASS, GR, TU, CY, (CAGLAYANGIL, IHSAN SABRI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006